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I. F. Stone's Weekly

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The Lessons of the Algerian Liberation

Many are the lessons to be drawn from the Algerian liberation struggle. The first is the poisonous effect of white supremacist doctrine; even in tolerant and civilized France it was strong enough to prevent the development of a great multiracial commonwealth. The North African Arab wanted to be treated with respect. The leaders of the revolt were men educated in France, and desirous at first of assimilation to France. Their disappointments began with the broken promises of the Blum Popular Front government in the mid-30s, the first in a series of disillusionments which finally led to the outbreak of the revolt in 1954. The second is the impotence of military power against a small terrorist force when the latter has the passive sympathy of the people. Where France could put 250,000 men into Algeria, with all the latest equipment, the insurgents rarely had 10,000 ill-armed men active at one time within Algeria itself. The third is the failure of the French idea that they could use against the Algerian guerrillas the lessons they thought they had learned in fighting Ho Chi-minh's in Vietnam. They read Mao's handbook, as we now read Guevara's, but mechanically, forgetting that guerrilla war is a weapon of desperate revolutionaries, a last resort for freedom. Fourthly, de Gaulle had the wisdom to see that the liberation struggle could not be defeated; after 250,000 lives and $20 billion dollars, it was poisoning the life of France.

Not To Be Turned Off By A Kremlin Spigot

Had the French rightists had their way, or had some of our simple-minded anti-Communist American strategists been in charge, the struggle would long ago have been presented to the U.S. public as an occult affair, master-minded from Moscow, with which no compromise was possible. The fact that Peking had recognized the FLN and that Moscow had covertly helped them with supplies on many occasions would have been blown up to such proportions as to hide the real causes, and therefore the real solution. U.S. leaders are constantly harking back to Khrushchev's 1960 declaration of support for wars of liberation, as if it were the confession of a Communist plot. We talk as if these wars could be turned off at some Kremlin spigot. The real meaning is that these are unavoidable and that the only way to counter Moscow's effort to bring them under its wing is to welcome them ourselves. This is in part what happened with the Algerian revolt where the American labor movement for once provided a moderating perspective. Otherwise the FLN might have been made as completely dependent on the Soviet bloc as was Castro, the bloody struggle escalated, instead of brought to a close, at least insofar as the FLN is concerned. France itself still faces a period of struggle with its own military conspirators, men driven into counter-terror by the same delusions about Communist plots and the same marijuana about counter-guerrilla tactics evident in our own Pentagon and in some White House circles.

Heading for An Algeria of Our Own?

France moved from folly in Indochina to folly in Algeria and we are retracing its footsteps and its errors. In South Vietnam we are adopting the same formulas of "regroupment centers" (concentration camps would be a more realistic term) for the peasantry which failed in Algeria, and it is not at all impossible that we may plunge one of these days into an Algeria of our own in Cuba. It is a pity a National Commission could not make a study for us of the French experience, so we might avoid repeating it, particularly the lesson that republics which use military force to repress other peoples abroad end up by struggling for their own liberty against these same military forces, grown swollen in size and frustrated in spirit, anxious to do at home what they cannot do abroad. This is the next act in France's tragedy; it could some day turn out to be our own.

An Appalling Confession

If Nixon is now telling the truth in his new book "Six Crises," then both he and Kennedy deceived the country on Cuba in the 1960 campaign. Nixon says Kennedy criticized Eisenhower for not acting against Castro when he knew from CIA briefings that an invasion was being prepared. Nixon says he himself misled the public by pretending to be more "sober" than Kennedy in order to hide the invasion plans. Nixon says he was engaging in falsification for "cover" purposes—as the cloak and dagger men say—when he argued that an attack on Cuba would lose us friends in Latin America, invite Khrushchev in, and draw us into a civil war or worse. Nixon finds it ironical, nothing more, that this was "the one and only time in the campaign" when columnists and editorial writers were on his side. Events since do not seem to have taught him that when he was insincere he was, for once, right. His only feeling of indignation is against Kennedy for taking advantage of inside information. He seems too obtuse to realize the significance of his confession, the lightning flash with which it illuminates the low standards of public honor to which we have been brought by CIA operations and our undignified quarrel with a tiny neighbor. The White House and ex-CIA Chief Dulles deny that Kennedy knew about the secret plans to invade Cuba until after the election, but too much official falsehood has marked the Cuban affair, and been defended as expedient, to give such denials the credibility they would otherwise command.

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Only Hope of New Test Ban Agreement Lies with Indians and Swedes at Geneva

British Scientists on Secret Visit Fail to Persuade White House

Two British scientific authorities, Sir Solly Zuckerman, chief scientific adviser to the Ministry of Defense, and Sir Wm. Penney, research chief of the British Atomic Energy Authority, were here in Washington on a secret visit last week-end, arriving on Friday, March 16 and leaving on Tuesday, March 20.

Their purpose was to convince the Kennedy Administration that it could safely reduce its requirements for a test inspection agreement since even small underground tests could be detected from abroad. They brought with them evidence that the British had detected all the tests in our recent underground series in Nevada and New Mexico, but their trip seems to have been fruitless.

Britons Frustrated—Congress Alarmed

At the time of writing, just before going to press, none of this had yet leaked out into U.S. newspapers though quite an array of scientific talent was marshalled by the White House for its own secret conferences with the visitors. George Kistiakowsky was brought down from Harvard for these sessions. Other participants were AEC Chairman Glenn T. Seaborg; Harold Brown, research chief at the Defense Department, and Jerome Wiesner, the President's scientific adviser.

The conferences seem to have left behind them considerable frustration among the British, and rising alarm in certain Congressional quarters. The frustration arose from the fact that on the one hand the U.S. government says underground tests are no longer the issue, that atmospheric tests are necessary for its purposes, particularly in the field of missile interception. On the other hand, when it is pointed out that atmospheric tests are easily detected, the difficulty of detecting underground tests is brought up as an obstacle to an agreement. The alarm arose from fears on the Hill that the Administration might be on the verge of giving in to the British. This was reflected in statements from Senators Dirksen of Illinois and Javits of New York, and in a leading editorial in the Washington Star (March 20) accusing the British of "playing Russia's game" and declaring that if a new test series "means a break with the British, that will be too bad. But it will be better than selling ourselves down the river." Of such demagogic rubbish is national policy made.

Nevertheless the British seem to have been frightened away from taking the initiative at Geneva and the only hope now lies with the Indians and Swedes. There is good reason to suspect that both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are anxious for another series of tests. These will not only pollute the atmosphere but increase world tension. The Indians seem to be suggesting that national detection systems be supplemented by an international network to be set up in neutral countries. One way India and Sweden could put pressure on for a new test moratorium would be to make quickly available from the powerful seismic stations in Finland, Sweden, Japan, the Philippines and India, the recordings they have made of the U.S. underground tests and the one underground test to which Khrushchev referred in the speech from which we quote below. This would show how successfully these tests have been monitored and dispel the chief bogey cited as excuse for not entering a new agreement.

Apology and Correction

In last week's issue we unfairly characterized the National Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy as stricken "numb and dumb" by the President's decision to resume atmospheric testing. SANE's energetic press office did issue a statement in the early morning hours after the President's TV speech March 2, which went to all New York papers. But there seems to have been some slipup in distribution out of town. We neither received the release nor saw any mention of it in the New York papers which (as so often happens) ignored it. We are happy to learn that we were in error.

Khrushchev Boasts He Set Off Underground Blast To Prove We Could Detect It

"It is claimed that secret tests of nuclear weapons can be carried out underground. I am going to divulge a secret to you, comrades. We knew that science makes it possible to detect underground nuclear explosions by national means of control. The underground nuclear tests carried out, for instance, in the United States were recorded by Soviet scientists and by scientists in other countries. And we decided to prove that when representatives of the Western powers harp on the impossibility of detecting underground explosions, they lie.

"We have used the well-known popular trick to see how some people simulate deafness. This checkup consists of the following: A man is told—'Ivan give me this!' But Ivan pretends not to hear. Then you tell him—'Ivan, take this!' Then he hears you perfectly well, to be sure. And so we decided to use this popular method, and it worked.

"Recently an underground nuclear explosion was carried out in the Soviet Union, although formerly we did not stage such explosions. And what was the result? Almost on that very day the Atomic Energy Commission of the United States declared that the U.S. detected an underground nuclear explosion in the Soviet Union.

"Hence, it follows that those who tried to prove the impossibility of registering underground explosions, who insisted that the banning of underground nuclear tests must be placed under international control, were not guided by the interests of the earliest achievement of agreement.

"This proves once again that the banning of nuclear weapons tests is blocked not by the elaboration of a control system but by the Western Powers' unwillingness to reach agreement on outlawing nuclear tests."

—Khrushchev's "election" speech, Moscow, March 16.

"The Atomic Energy Commission announced this afternoon that the Soviet Union apparently conducted a nuclear detonation underground today. The detonation took place at the Soviet nuclear weapons proving grounds in the Semipalatinsk area in Central Asia. The yield was well above the threshold of underground detectability, even by a single national system, and the absence of acoustic signals indicated that it occurred underground."

—Full text, AEC release No. E30, Feb. 2, 1962.

"The evidence, official sources said, was picked up on seismographic equipment which would also record an earthquake. Apparently, however, it had some particular characteristics of an explosion. Furthermore, there are indications that the U.S. corroborates its seismic detections by other means." ***—New York Times, Feb. 3.***

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Faked Elections Cause Trouble in Guatemala; Liberal Protest Rises in Colombia

Tricky Frondizi Upset By Same Forces Which Made Him President

The stormy Latin American situation bears little resemblance to the optimistic platitudes of the Alliance for Progress. In Argentina, Frondizi may be forced out of office by the very same forces which helped him in; this one time honest anti-Fascist turned trickster won the 1958 elections with the covert support of Peronistas and Communists. His personal ambitions for the Presidency split the Radical movement; its two main branches together polled 1,000,000 votes more this time than the Peronistas. Were it united, the Radical Party would be Argentina's largest, a cohesive moderate reform group able to provide stable rule for Argentina.

From Welfare State to Free Enterprise

Unfortunately Frondizi, after his election, reversed himself and moved from welfare statism to reliance on private enterprise and foreign private investment notably in oil. This required an "austerity" (for the working class but not the investors) which made the Peron era with its lush inflation and social benefits look like the "good old days", especially since Frondizi's regime with its reliance on states of emergency and the military, was not much better than Peron's when it came to civil liberties. The break in relations with Castro which Washington and the military forced on Frondizi was the final pre-election straw, and the U.S. may soon find itself backing a veiled military dictatorship as a lesser evil than the return of Peron.

In Guatemala trouble began in December when elections gave the Ydigoras government about three fourths of the seats contested in the countryside, where control is easy. In the capital, Guatemala City, where an alert electorate makes ballot-stuffing difficult, the government came in a poor fourth. As a result there were demonstrations. The government began bringing in peasants from national farms, armed with clubs and machetes, to attack demonstrators. Opposition is so widespread on both right and left and among the business classes as well as the intellectuals that Ydigoras is having trouble selling even our press the notion that this is a Castro-Communist plot.

In Colombia a breakaway liberal faction, tired of the do-nothing bipartisan share-the-rule agreement between the Conservatives and the Liberals, and anxious for social reform, registered a sharp upturn in the March 18 elections, taking about 40 percent of the Liberal vote as compared to 23 percent in 1960.

Outcry Against Creeping Stalinism?

"What is the revolution being converted to? Into a group of tame minds! . . . Revolution must make men think, analyze and maintain deep convictions, convictions so deep that there will be no need of things like these! . . . How can we, before a new generation, a generation thirsty for knowledge, how can we put blinders on them so they cannot read the complete texts of the historic documents of a revolutionary comrade?"

—Fidel Castro on Havana radio March 14, the 5th anniversary of the storming of the Batista palace, protesting the omission from the testament of Jose Antonio Echevarria, who fell in that uprising, of his dying statement, "We are confident that the purity of our intentions will bring us the favor of God and make justice prevail in our homeland."

U.S. Accused of Space "Brinkmanship" in Secret Launching of U-2 Satellites

"Last week, after the transformation scene in the U-2 affair had produced a national hero from an unpromising situation, applause deadened a noise off-stage—the launching, by the U.S. Air Force, of a fourth secret satellite. The lesson of the U-2, it seems has not been learned . . .

"On November 22, 1961, the USAF announced that a satellite had been 'successfully launched' by Atlas Agena rocket from Point Arguello, California. On December 2, 1961, a similar announcement stated that another such satellite had been launched. No further details were supplied. Neither satellite was given an international designation, and both were omitted from an allegedly full list of space launchings in a report by President Kennedy. At the same time, in the United Nations, Mr. Adlai Stevenson was introducing a resolution (adopted on Dec. 11) which, among other things, called on States launching spacecraft 'to furnish information promptly for purposes of registration of launchings.' Mr. Stevenson commented: 'The first principle is that international law, including the UN Charter, applies to outer space . . . we should state explicitly that the rules of good international conduct follow (man) wherever he goes . . .'

"On Feb. 21 this year, a USAF Thor Agena was launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base carrying 'secret equipment.' This was correctly designated as 1962 Delta, but no further information was given. Discoverer 38, launched on Feb. 27, was also given its 1962 Epsilon designation but nothing further was disclosed. The most recent launching of a USAF 'secret satellite' was from Point Arguello on March 7.

"It appears that the launchings of Nov. 22 and Dec. 23, 1961, and Mar. 7, 1962, were of Samos reconnaissance or Midas early warning satellites, and that those of Feb. 21 and Feb. 27 were Discoverers carrying Samos and/or Midas equipment. Together with Midas 4 (Oct. 21, 1961), this makes six major launches on which basic orbital information has been withheld from world scientists.

"Let us list our objections. US Air Force secrecy on basic orbital data is not in line with the US-sponsored UN resolution. It prevents world scientists from studying the orbits and so learning new facts about the structure of the high atmosphere. It is of doubtful military value, for the satellites concerned can undoubtedly be observed from the Soviet Union, as at least one has been observed from this country. And this secrecy represents a double standard, which is not tenable.

"For world science and world politics, then, the American attitude is dangerous. Scientifically there is a parallel in the ill-advised West Ford project to place a belt of dipoles ["needles"—IFS] in orbit—a second attempt at which is now being made. Politically, the parallel with the U-2 is too close for comfort. In 1956 Flight readers observed U-2 operations. Now a reader has reported the observation of a secret USAF satellite. The 1960 summit meeting preparations were blasted by the ill timing of the U-2 affair. Now, a satellite carrying observation equipment is launched on the day following Mr. Khrushchev's suggestion of cooperation in space. This is not what Mr. Stevenson calls 'good international conduct.' This is brinkmanship in space."

—This "leader" in Flight *(March 15) England's most respected aeronautical weekly created a sensation in the British press but was given little attention in ours.*

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Political and Humane Considerations Alike Dictate A Sharp Turn in U.S. Policy

China's Hunger and Split With Russia Is Our Opportunity

China's hunger, China's split with Russia, offer the U.S. an opportunity of historic importance. To open negotiations now, to permit food shipments to China, would be to take advantage of the biggest fissure yet opened in the Soviet monolith, to make the split between Moscow and Peking permanent, to arrange better terms for Formosa than we may ever get again, and to regain the friendship the Chinese people has felt for America since the Boxer rebellion.

Left in the Lurch By Russia

A Hong Kong dispatch to the London *Observer* (March 18) provides a vivid and detailed picture of the way Russian technicians have left China in the lurch, simply downing tools at many places and even taking construction blueprints away with them. China's grain purchases from Canada and Australia, its negotiations to buy Viscount airlines and petroleum from Britain, indicate that China is being forced to turn westward for aid, just as Tito was.

Had Washington turned a cold shoulder to Tito and maintained economic blockade, it would have given Stalin a victory. Instead, by supporting the Yugoslavs, we widened the first major crack in the Soviet empire; we allowed Tito to demonstrate that a Soviet satellite could defy Moscow and get away with it. China—and Albania—now offer a similar opportunity. It was through the rapprochement with Tito that the U.S. was able to win against the guerrillas in Greece; the unexpected split between Belgrade and Moscow led to the closing of the Yugoslav border and hence of the "privileged sanctuary" from which the guerrillas had been operating. A rapprochement with China might have similar results in stabilizing Southeast Asia.

The hunger in China is deep. News reports from China summarized by the London *Sunday Times* (Mar. 18) picture "the pathetic organized search by millions of people for wild fruits, herbs, chestnuts, waterweed stalks, arrowroot and other plants to supplement the shrinking supply of staple foods." Our food surpluses are huge and growing. A simple act of generosity would pay off. Calculation aside, nothing could be better for our own American people than to be asked to make a big gesture, just out of plain humanity, a humanity the cold war has shrivelled in too many of our hearts.

Deception By The Attorney General

In indicting Communist leaders Gus Hall and Benjamin J. Davis for failing to register the Party under the McCarran Act, Attorney General Kennedy insisted "such registration is not unusual in this country. Registration is required in a number of fields, including agents representing foreign countries, the sale of securities, establishment of welfare and pension plans, campaign contributions and lobbying. Many Americans, including respected individuals and law firms, have registered and obeyed such registration laws."

The registration statutes mentioned by the Attorney General subject registrants neither to ignominy nor sanctions. But registration under the McCarran Act reduces a man to second class citizenship. He loses his right to travel and to work for the government or in arms plants. If an alien, he can be deported; if a recent naturalized citizen, he can lose his citizenship. By registering, he opens himself to prosecution for Communist membership under the Smith Act. He is subject to the Subversive Activities Control Board as a self-declared subversive and his name will appear on its public black list. To compare this with registration under the Securities and Exchange Commission or the Lobbying Act is rank deception.

The purpose of the deception is to hide the fact that the McCarran Act is an act of political outlawry. "Neither these indictments, nor any possible future action," the Attorney General said, "mean that the Communist Party is outlawed." Of course the McCarran Act does not in so many words outlaw the Communist Party. A statute of outlawry would hardly survive constitutional test; political parties in a free society are supposed to be subject to the ballot box not the policeman's baton. The McCarran Act seeks to achieve outlawry under the appearance of registration. The effect will be not only to destroy the Communist Party but later to endanger any other group left of center which can be held to agree with Communist policies. The Attorney General may be bound to apply the law but he is not duty-bound to hide its true nature.

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